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NOTES AND NEWS.

The *Mahratta* publishes a series of important questions which have been put in the Bombay Legislative Council, and the replies given by the Government. Mr. Mehta asked if the attention of the Government had been drawn to the speech of Mr. Crowe at the Birthday Durbar at Poona, in which that judge stated that he had in the course of the trial of Chapekar found no indication of any conspiracy in any section of the Poona community which could have prompted the murder of Mr. Rand. The Government replied in the affirmative. The question was followed up by Mr. Mehta with another :—

Will Government be pleased to consider the justice and desirability of cancelling the notification in the Judicial Department of June 29, 1897, by which they imposed additional police in the local area of the Poona City Municipality on the ground that they considered the conduct of the inhabitants of the city of Poona rendered it expedient to do so?

Answer given by the Hon. Sir Charles Ollivant: Having regard to the heavy additional burdens thrown on the financial resources of the city of Poona through the measures undertaken to combat the plague epidemic, to the recent sufferings of the inhabitants, and to the patience, fortitude and good order displayed by them under these sufferings, Government have been pleased to hold in abeyance the second paragraph of the notification to which the hon. member refers, and they are considering the propriety of altogether relieving the municipality of the liability so imposed upon it.

There is some satisfaction in finding that the protests of Sir W. Wedderburn and others against the imposition of the charges of the punitive police force upon the citizens of Poona have not been fruitless.

Two important questions were put by the Hon. Mr. Khare upon the detention of Indian travellers under the plague regulations, and the observance of racial distinctions. The questions and the replies of the Government were as follows :—

Is it true that at Ahmedabad Station all Indian passengers travelling first, second, or third class coming from Bombay are taken through one gate and kept together in an enclosure for inspection, and that all European and Eurasian passengers, travelling by whatever class, are not taken to the said enclosure, but are allowed to go away freely through another gate which, before the plague operations began, was intended for the exit of all first and second class passengers?

Answer given by His Excellency the President: Enquiry is being made.

Is it true that at Ahmedabad, Surat, Baroach, and other places where passengers arriving by railway are either detained under observation or allowed to go into the town under a system of medical surveillance, such detention or surveillance is resorted to only in the case of Indian passengers?

Answer given by His Excellency the President: The orders of the Government are that the systems of detention or surveillance should be applicable to all suspicious persons without regard to nationality. Enquiries are being instituted whether these orders are being strictly carried out in practice.

Is it not odd that the Government should have no knowledge of this matter until its attention was called to it by members of the Legislative Council? And is it not still more strange that the Government, upon being questioned, could not give any definite reply to the allegations?

The myth of "the Nurse and the Natus" was the subject of further questions. But the Government of Bombay —wisely, no doubt—declined to commit itself to any specific facts upon the matter. It does not emulate the lively imagination of Lord George Hamilton :—

Mr. Khare asked: Is Government aware of the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on February 18, 1898, in connexion with the Poona plague operations of 1897, to the following effect: "There was a great difficulty in getting the nurses, but at last the Government secured a sufficient number. One of these nurses made a deposition that she had received a letter purporting to be signed by one of the brothers Natu, stating that it would be greatly to her detriment if she worked with the search party. Since receiving this letter, she persisted in working in the search operations, and she had not had a midwifery case in the city in consequence, although previously she frequently was called in." Is the name of this nurse Mrs. Goodall (formerly Mrs. Mehta)? If that be not the name of the nurse referred to, will Government be pleased to say what is her name?

In reply the Governor said: As to the first paragraph, *Government was not aware of the statement referred to.* They did not consider any good purpose would be served by giving the name of the individual in question.

We knew that Lord Salisbury did not read Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, and *vice versa*. But what are we to say of this cynical repudiation by the Government of Bombay of a grave personal accusation uttered by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons? Truly a fit sequel to Lord G. Hamilton's reckless and inconsistent calumnies.

Altogether the questions have thrown light on facts and exploded myths in a way which is highly satisfactory. The questions were put on Friday and Saturday, August 19 and 20. On the first of these days there were as many as sixty-two questions on the paper. This is considered an extraordinarily large number for an Indian Provincial Council. But in the House of Commons the number of questions often exceeds a hundred on one night, and questions are asked night after night for the six months of the Session. The *Champion* says :—

Excluding Saturdays and Sundays, and the holidays, the House has about 140 working days; and taking the average working hours to be five only, it means 700 hours during the Session. Just compare 700 hours to the 20 during the Sessions we have in this Presidency. Practically, it means that the honourable members who represent the public have 35 times *less* opportunity to interpellate on matters affecting a population which is *two-fifths* of the entire population of the United Kingdom!

Quite so. And if the baser sort of Anglo-Indian bureaucrat had his way, there would plainly be no interpellations at all.

In reply to Mr. Khare's question as to the apportionment of plague expenditure between the municipalities and the Government respectively, Lord Sandhurst said:

Where the municipal revenues have been inadequate for the plague expenditure, Government have advanced the necessary funds. The final apportionment of such expenditure between the municipalities and Government is still under consideration.

All the affected towns in the Bombay Presidency, including Bombay itself, can, we think, fairly demand that the whole of the plague expenditure should be borne by the Government. The plague is a national calamity, and the expenditure incurred to meet it should be borne from the resources of the country as a whole. It would be cruel to charge the afflicted towns with the burden of additional taxation. We have not the least doubt that if the question were placed before the British people and Parliament they would never sanction the debiting of plague expenditure to the afflicted localities.

In reply to Mr. Khare's further questions the Government admitted that Rs. 1,895—6—0 had been paid to Dr. Gwyther as compensation for the loss of his furniture in the Sinnar plague-riots, that only a pensionary allowance (amount not stated) had been recommended for the widow of the hospital assistant who was killed, and that in respect of the pleader who was killed the Government could not recognise any claim from his family. With regard to the Press Committees, it was officially explained that

Government had not yet received any information as to the number of places in which District Officers may have thought fit to ask gentlemen to serve on committees for the purpose of assisting them to make themselves more promptly and accurately acquainted with the

publications in the local press. Any such committees must be purely of an informal and unofficial character, and if appointed are appointed entirely at the discretion of the collector. Any notification of the appointment was therefore out of the question, and Government at present saw no reason to fetter the discretion of local officers in the matter. It is the wish of Government that facilities should be afforded the Press for obtaining correct information in regard to matters connected with the administration that are not of a confidential character, that occasions for direct intervention by Government should be avoided, and that responsible officers should be encouraged to devise some reliable means of keeping in touch with local opinion and of ascertaining the truth of complaints regarding alleged grievances.

"Entirely at the discretion of the collector." But some collectors exhibit more zeal than discretion. These Press Committees are instruments of mischievous intimidation, and if Lord George Hamilton were fit for his office he would instantly have demolished them.

The *Pioneer* understands that the recent railway conference at Simla had many new projects before it. This is extremely likely, in view of the railway fervour of Lord George Hamilton, backed by Sir Henry Fowler. But many of these projects "were really not ripe for promotion to a forward place in the future programme of construction." Yet no doubt the jostling for a foremost place was pretty keen, if not turbulent. The frontier lines, as might have been anticipated, "will occupy a large share of consideration"; and apparently an effort is to be made to discover economic reasons for the support of the strategic grounds. The device is not half bad—for throwing dust in the eyes of the public at home. But it will be no easy task to persuade anybody who knows the localities that there is the slightest prospect of any projected frontier railway being able to pay its way—unless as a continuous charge on the military department. Only it requires but a little of the familiar shuffling of the accounts to put a cheerful economic face on an essentially military object.

At last there is news of the attraction of English gold to India. The *Pioneer* reports that "there has been quite a crowd of eager concessionaires, with plenty of British gold at their back, bidding for the lease or sale outright of the few remaining Indian railways owned and worked by the State." The lines these "eager" gentlemen have their eye on are said to be the Eastern Bengal, Oudh and Rohilkhand, and East Coast and North-Western. The attraction is said to be "the splendid traffic returns." If this be so, then the Government had better keep on its way, and pocket its own dividends, or reduce its rates for the general benefit. These dividends ought to mount higher and higher with the "increased prosperity" of the country, for it is to be assumed that the Government is going to make some special efforts in this direction, were it only on the principle of self-preservation. British gold is all very well. But the development of Indian business by Indians themselves—under British direction, or British encouragement, or British example—that is what is necessary to the real, solid advance of the country. Then we should hear less of currency projects and stratagems.

The Bombay Government leads the way—to bankruptcy. It commences the financial year with empty coffers, while the Imperial Government requires it to make up a balance to the prescribed minimum of 20 lakhs (Rs. 20,00,000). Easier said than done. Well, there must be another turn of the screw. In the first place, administrative economy must be ruthlessly enforced; in other words, improvements, however clamant, must stand over for the indefinite arrival of better times. The Hon. Mr. James stated in Council that "upon the side of administrative expenditure everything had been screwed in the estimates down to starvation point." In the next place, the income must be stringently drawn in from the poor rayats—nearly thirty-five per cent. of whom, according to the results of the Hon. Mr. Balchandra Krishna's enquiries, "are chronically indebted"; that is to say, are in the hands of the money-lenders. There is a third possible source of aid—the Imperial Government. While Mr. James pointed out that the Government of India had replied to a recent request for an increase of their allotment by 13 lakhs, by a refusal of any further concessions, Lord Sandhurst was more hopeful, declaring that he "had great faith in the generosity of the Government of India." Meantime, he has to live by faith, and raise his minimum of 20 lakhs, and something to go on with, in some other way.

All this is deplorable as a specimen of "beneficent administration." The Government of India magnanimously declined the willing assistance of England. To do this, it was compelled to starve the Presidency. The famine came, and the plague came. It is futile now to bandy words over the administrative measures, especially in connexion with the plague. The Government of India has stretched out a helping hand to Bombay, certainly; it paid the whole of the famine expenditure, almost up to a crore of rupees (Rs. 96,40,000), and Rs. 16,91,000 by way of special contribution to expenses of the plague. It is a profound muddle, from beginning to end. One item of the Government expenses we are particularly pleased to note, namely, two lakhs on account of the Poona punitive police; for "it has been decided to relieve the city of Poona of this burden"—a burden that ought never to have been imposed upon it. A noteworthy point also is the fact that the extensive dacoities at Nassik were directed against the money-lenders. We should be glad to believe, if we could, that these dacoities do not arise directly from the excessive pressure upon the rayats, or are not at least intimately connected therewith. In any case the weakness of the police force is closely associated with a weak treasury. Bombay—and India generally—needs a stronger hand on the reins, and a stronger head as well.

The Committee appointed to investigate the transport question should be well into their work by this time. They were to meet at Simla on September 1. The reference is very wide, and the object is stated to be "to make proposals to put the transport system on a sound footing without impressment." Mr. Thorburn, then, has not spoken out in vain. Even were Mr. Thorburn's figures extravagant, which they have not been shown to be, the proportion of requirement laid upon the Punjab is oppressive, and the methods of collection are altogether intolerable. We hope the Committee will go through the whole question in a drastic manner.

The union of hearts between India and England has again been illustrated at Madras. Mr. Venkata Row, a student of the Christian College, took refuge from a sudden downpour of rain, with some companions, in the lower verandah of the Law College new buildings, when two European "gentlemen" came downstairs and ordered them to "clear out." One student had the confidence to say they would leave as soon as the rain ceased. "Damn the rain, get out," was the gentlemanly rejoinder. So Venkata Row ran for the thana to report the matter, when the sahib pushed him by the neck and gave him a buffet. Mr. Chester, the magistrate, fined the gentlemanly ruffian Rs. 10. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives the unmannerly assailant's name, designation, and address—*pour encourager les autres*.

The *Behar Herald* comments gravely on the strange and not infrequent miscarriages of justice in India in criminal cases between Europeans and Indians. While exculpating the Government, our contemporary justly points out that still "the result in the popular mind affects the fair fame of Government and brings the administration of justice into disrepute":—

To uneducated people it appears extraordinary that a mighty Government, which justly prides itself on the security of life and property which it has brought with it, the murderers caught red-handed and sometimes convicted on their own confessions should go unpunished; and as the criminals in these cases belong to the conquering race, they in their ignorance impute motives.

In spite of a marked *anacoluthon*, the sense is painfully clear. The *Behar Herald* also exculpates the courts; yet, as it points out, "the popular impression is that evidence of Natives is disbelieved without good and sufficient cause." Wherein lies the remedy? First, says our contemporary, "in correctly understanding the gravity of the situation." "Of late there have been cases"—for instance, at Saharanpur and Dum-Dum—"that show that lawlessness, if unchecked, would not be always discriminating in its victims," but wreak its will on Europeans as well. Secondly, Government must put down the open expression of European contempt for Indians. "The lawless think that a conquered people have no right whatever, and that any violent crime against them is no crime." It is very sad to read such thoroughly just comments, and to feel that they are made in vain.

Another case of misconduct on the part of Indian police has come before Mr. Justice Knox at Allahabad. Three police officers, convicted of fabricating evidence, appealed to the High Court. Mr. Justice Knox, in acquitting them, commented severely on the conduct of the district superintendent of police who had ordered the accused to the barracks, and prevented counsel from having access to them. What, it may well be asked, is the secret of the frequent and audacious misbehaviour on the part of the police in India? There can be no doubt as to the answer. It is that police and judicial functions are combined in the District Officer. He is the head at once of the police and of the magistracy. This unnatural and monstrous combination of functions is making British rule needlessly unpopular in India. It is the corner-stone of that system of despotic rule which is creating dissatisfaction and unrest throughout the country.

The *Madras Standard* does well to be drastic with Lord George Hamilton over his infatuated reference to India as "a savage country." During his three years of office as Secretary of State, our contemporary has "scrutinised his speeches in vain to find any expression of sympathy towards the people" of India; and he has assumed a positively "aggressive attitude," and "gratuitously insulted the Indian subjects of the Queen." If he means what he plainly must mean, then "his knowledge of India is poorer than that of the English boy that has for the first time crossed the threshold of the humblest public school in England." "If India is a savage country," says our contemporary, "even after more than a hundred years of British rule, certainly the young men who come out to establish humanity and civilised order in India have been ignominious failures." And then Mr. Chamberlain is invoked, and poor Lord George is broken on the wheel of his pushful colleague. The *Madras Standard* has tossed the Secretary of State into the region of contemptuous pity, and there he may well be left. But it is not a proud position for a Secretary of State for India.

Sir Charles Frederick Farran, the Chief Justice of Bombay, whose death was announced last Sunday as having taken place at Bombay, at the age of fifty-eight, was the third son of Mr. George Farran, of Belcamp Park, co. Dublin, and was born in 1840. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took the B.A. degree in 1861, and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1864. Entering the Judicial Department of the Government of Bombay in 1868, he served as reporter of the High Court, Bombay, from that year till 1874, also as acting Government Professor of Law from April, 1868, to June, 1870, and as Perry Professor of Jurisprudence from June, 1870, to January, 1872. For two years from September, 1874, he acted as Clerk of the Crown, being confirmed in the appointment in May, 1880. He was also acting Advocate-General in Bombay, and for a year acted as an additional Judge of the High Court. In April, 1890, he was confirmed in his appointment as a Judge of the Bombay High Court, and soon made some reputation in the Presidency for his acumen and knowledge of the law. In 1895, on the retirement of Sir Charles Sargent, he was appointed Chief Justice of Bombay, and knighted. Sir Charles Farran married, in 1874, Ethel Kate, daughter of Mr. Thomas Simmons, of Liverpool.

It may be interesting to reproduce the following passage from a speech made by Mr. Tremearne, editor of the Anglo-Indian financial journal *Capital*, to the shareholders of the Howrah Jute Mills:—

> The Government have shown an utter absence of knowledge of, [illegible] sympathy with, the manners and habits of the people. They have tinkered with the plague as they have tinkered with the currency, and with the same unhappy result. This is not governing; this is playing at government; and it is making the game as offensive as possible for those who, under these circumstances, have the misfortune to be governed. The people of India are a patient, long-suffering nation, docile, and obedient; but they are very tenacious of their long established customs, and will resent to the utmost of their strength any interference with them. I am quite satisfied that the Government of India were only actuated by the very best intentions, and that the rules which they promulgated they thought would be for the public good; but it cannot be in any way for that good that the minds of the people should be stirred up and their worst passions inflamed, as was the case when these rules were promulgated.

Perfectly true. But Mr. Tilak and other Indian editors have been sent to prison for publishing statements less [illegible] the authorities into contempt and ill-will.

The Madras journals received by the last mail bring further evidence of the sympathetic and successful administration of Sir Arthur Havelock. The administration of the forest department has always been a subject of complaint in India because forest officers are apt to pay little regard to the convenience and the grazing rights of villagers in their hard and fast rules. The matter was lately brought to Sir A. Havelock's notice, and he announced that the Board of Revenue had resolved to direct collectors to arrange for the hearing and disposal of petitions against the Government forest rules at specified places and on suitable occasions. For the rest, Sir A. Havelock's speeches during his last tour have created a distinctly favourable impression. "From Bombay, from Calcutta, from Lucknow, and from Lahore (says the *Hindu*) come comments of approval and appreciation of His Excellency's broad-minded sympathy and anxiety to do good." A little sympathy goes a long way in India. Would that Lord George Hamilton realised the fact.

"Writing Christian despatches and doing un-Christian acts"—this was the serious but not unfounded charge which was brought by John Bright against the East India Company. The *Champion* points out that the closing of the Roorkee College to the natives of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, while it is left open to the Eurasians of those provinces, is an act which the East India Company could not have surpassed. "There should be no governing caste in India," said the Company's Directors; but, nevertheless, in practice they maintained a governing caste which Macaulay happily designated "white Brahmans." "It is our further will," said the Queen on assuming the direct government of India, "that our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service." But the "white Brahmans" flourish all the same.

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writes:—"The treatment by the *Economist* of the published proceedings before the India Currency Committee is somewhat disappointing. As an exposition of the principal topics brought out, its two notices have been, as usual, skilful and clear; and it would have been more in accordance with the impartial traditions of that journal to have kept itself in reserve as to the essential questions at issue. This it has scarcely done. While on both occasions it frankly averred that the Simla scheme, which is at once violent and crude, is already put far back on the shelf—which goes without saying—it went out of its way, it seems to me, in pronouncing with superlative emphasis that equally so must it finally be concluded that reversion to automatic silver currency must be regarded as impracticable. That was merely to echo Sir James Westland's forensic declaration in support of his own fantastic and revolutionary proposals. These have, indeed, been backed up by his two delegates with the skill and plausibility due to a well laid plan set out with all the adventitious prestige derived from official sanction and influence. This method of putting the case was well adapted to bias the chairman and to tempt the Committee to fall back on a ready-made, foregone conclusion.

"It was quite open to the *Economist* in summarising, or rather counting heads in the evidence so far given, to report that the major part of the opinions expressed—a large portion of which consists of guesses and surmises—tended against what must still be regarded as an open question—the possible reopening of the mints to the sound system of automatic coinage, the balance of currency dependent on natural though varying commercial exigencies and spon[illegible] derating set of Western opinion may make it difficult for the Committee to realise the Indian standpoint, an impartial financial journal such as the *Economist* should be able to hold its own against the local feeling and supposed interests of the Western world. The Committee has scarcely had fair opportunity really to grasp the situation of the 'internal' India, as is shown, for instance, by Mr. David Yule in his notable speech as he partly raised the curtain from that vast and obscure interior of the real India. The Simla delegates see only portions of that through their official telescopes. Nevertheless, sufficient is known of the gradually intensifying currency famine to have induced the leading financial journal to refrain from shutting off that widest portion of the Committee's field of enquiry."

THE RELEASE OF MR. TILAK.

MR. TILAK'S release after serving two-thirds of the sentence of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment which was passed upon him by Mr. Justice Strachey in September of last year has been announced; but if any reasons for the remission of the remainder of his sentence have been stated in India they have not yet found their way to this country. We are extremely glad that he has been spared the full burden of a punishment which he had done nothing to deserve, and which was imposed by an inexperienced judge in a time of unreasoning panic such as rarely overtakes even the highly-strung representatives of British authority in India. We should like to think that his release indicates on the part of the Bombay Government, and on the part of Lord George Hamilton, who dictated the fiercely repressive policy of last summer, a frank admission that their zeal ran away with their discretion. It would, however, be rash to assume that any such admission has been openly made. We referred on August 26 to a statement made by a Bombay correspondent of the Madras *Hindu*. "Very likely," he said, "what I wrote to you some weeks before will happen. Mr. Tilak will probably be given the benefit of the rule framed last year, authorising gaol authorities to recommend for release any prisoner whose unexpired sentence is within six months, and whose conduct is considered deserving such indulgence." Whether this conjecture was accurate we do not yet know. But in any case it seems reasonable to believe that the petition submitted to the Queen last May by Professor Max Müller, Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and others has contributed to a result which, as our Bombay correspondent informs us, gives satisfaction throughout India. Professor Max Müller's petition (printed in INDIA of May 27 last, page 331) appealed for a remission of the sentence partly on grounds of health. "Your Majesty's humble petitioners are apprehensive of the results of the unaccustomed hardship of prison life and the tasks allotted to him under prison discipline." But that was not all. The petition set forth a series of further reasons for the exercise of the Queen's prerogative, and it is well that these reasons have been publicly stated by gentlemen of the weight and distinction of the petitioners. That Mr. Tilak had enjoyed the confidence of the Governor of Bombay, who sanctioned his election to the Legislative Council; that he did his best to allay the alarm caused in India by the plague regulations, and himself started a Hindu plague hospital; that he has been "recognised by the most eminent authorities in Europe and America as a scholar of high order, and a student deeply interested in the ancient history and antiquities of India"; and that he is widely known to and highly respected by his loyal fellow-countrymen—all these were facts which men like Professor Max Müller and Sir Richard Garth might well bring to the notice of the Queen. But they derived their significance from the remarkable statement which followed. It goes without saying that if Mr. Tilak had really been guilty of the offence with which he was charged his public distinction would have justified rather an increase than a mitigation of his punishment. The point was that the petitioners declared their belief in his innocence. "The said Bal Gangadhar Tilak," they wrote, "in the course of his trial stated that the articles for which he was condemned were not written with any seditious intention, and your Majesty's humble petitioners believe that he is not personally animated by any other feeling than that of loyalty to your Majesty's person and Government." That has been our own belief from the first, [illegible], therefore, that Mr. Tilak's release may be rightly interpreted as showing that those who were responsible for his prosecution now realise that they secured the conviction of an innocent man.

The release of Mr. Tilak, following as it does the conditional release of the brothers Natu, may be said to mark a return from the hasty policy of distrust upon which the Government of India and the India Office embarked last year. Nobody believes that either Mr. Tilak or the Natus would have been arrested if Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst had not been murdered. The arrests, as we have pointed out before, were made many weeks after the murders were committed, and at a time when what was called "the policy of inactivity" was provoking criticism from some of our Jingoes. What "the policy of inactivity" meant was simply that the Bombay Government, in the absence of any evidence, had rightly refrained from making any arrests. But it was borne in upon them that this sort of thing would never do. Mr. Tilak was put on his trial on account of certain matter which had appeared long before in the *Kesari* and been passed over without notice, while the arrest of the Natus was accompanied by an announcement that important disclosures were likely to follow. Everybody knows the humiliating sequel. When Mr. Tilak was placed on his trial the prosecuting counsel found that it was hopeless to attempt to establish any connexion between the incriminated "articles," as they were called, and the murders of Jubilee day. But the "articles" were said to have been printed in a time of popular excitement at Poona, which was a sufficiently plain, although completely unfounded, reference to the assassinations. In the case of the Natus, who were not brought to trial at all, a bolder line was adopted. Lord George Hamilton announced in the House of Commons that their arrest would unravel the plot which had been formed. The statement was totally unwarranted. But it showed that the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 had been employed for a purpose for which it was never intended, namely, the detection of ordinary crime. No plot was unravelled, for the simple reason that there was no plot. When, however, that pretext broke down, Lord G. Hamilton was ready with another. He charged the elder Natu with intimidating a midwife engaged in the plague operations at Poona. The amended was sufficiently different from the original accusation. But on being sifted it was shown to be equally groundless and equally discreditable to its author. (It appears, by the way, that the Bombay Government now professes never to have been aware of this charge, which was brought against the elder Natu by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons!) Finally, the whole house of cards which the India Office, the Government of India, and the Bombay Government had hastily put together in July, 1897, was demolished by the confession, followed by the conviction and execution, of Damodar Chapekar. The assassin of Jubilee day, it turned out, was not merely an isolated fanatic, but also a man who could not read. Moreover, the judge who tried and sentenced him declared that throughout the trial there was no evidence which in the least suggested the existence of a conspiracy at Poona in connexion with the assassinations. The detention of the Natus and the conviction of Mr. Tilak were inexcusable from the first. But they became monstrous and grotesque after the execution of Chapekar. Lord G. Hamilton, however, repents slowly, when he repents at all. Even now, though the Natus have nominally been released, they are subject to restrictions.

It is well to recall these facts because the fire-eaters who had so much to say last year to the British public about the troubles at Poona have been strangely reticent since the demolition of their theories. Let us hope that their experience may be a lesson to them, as it seems to have been to the Government of India, both in India and in London. If, as is now suggested by the Bombay Government, the cost of the punitive police force is not after all charged to the municipality of Poona, much will have been done to wipe out the memory of the cruelty into which ignorance and panic betrayed the authorities last year. True, the Press Committees and the new law of sedition—the most dangerous product of the policy of distrust—still remain, and it is probable that the law will not be repealed until a Liberal Government, manned by Liberals worth their salt, struggles into being at home. But if we [illegible] right in interpreting recent proceedings as indications of repentance, very much may be done at once to bridge the growing gulf of distrust which threatens to separate for ever the mass of the Indian people from their alien rulers. In punishing Mr. Tilak and the brothers Natu, our countrymen in India have punished men who were, and wished to remain, their best friends—men who by their position and education were entitled to act as interpreters between the British authorities and the dumb millions of the Indian people. We hope that at last this fact has come home to all whom it concerns, and that the temper of distrust and suspicion is to be exchanged even at this eleventh hour for something more hopeful and more fruitful. Depend upon it, British rule in India cannot afford another "Poona policy."

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.—*Queen's Proclamation*, 1858.

THERE need not be any question about the sincerity of the Queen's memorable declaration of equal treatment for all her subjects irrespectively of race, colour, and so forth. Though issued in a moment of elevated feeling, it nevertheless represent a settled principle and purpose. The difficulty lies in the practical application; and it is twofold—dependent partly upon the facts of the particular case, and partly upon the officials from time to time charged with the administration. In recent years the apparent discrepancy between principle and practice has been very trying within India itself. For some seven years past it has also been painfully illustrated in the sufferings of British Indians in the various provinces of South Africa. When an influential deputation of Indian gentlemen resident in London waited upon Mr. Chamberlain on August 29, 1895, to lay before him the grievances of their countrymen—"natives of our Indian territories"—in South Africa, he acknowledged the general principle, officially and personally, in the fullest manner. "We all desire," he said, "that all British subjects should be treated alike, and should have equal rights and privileges." But at a later point he said: "the difficulty that I have is in finding a practical way of dealing with the question." Again, when Sir Lepel Griffin, as Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, addressed to Lord George Hamilton, on December 15, 1897, a strong appeal on behalf of the Indians in Natal, the reply was an assurance "that all the arguments adduced by you on behalf of the British Indians in Natal had been anticipated and fully considered by her Majesty's Government, and have been urged by them as far as they thought practicable upon the Government of Natal, which, however, is a self-governing colony." The grievances are acknowledged. The Government confesses itself helpless. There must be a loose screw somewhere.

In our June number last year Mr. Alfred Webb set forth the general action of the various South African States in prejudice of Indians; and in our issue of February 4 this year we reprinted from the *Saturday Review* an exposition of the hostile action of the Natal Government by Sir Lepel Griffin. The Natal case is rather the worst of the lot, and we may now recall the position in Sir Lepel's words:—

The only grievances that seem to call for protest on the part of fair-minded Englishmen are those which are directly concerned with the industrial disabilities imposed upon the Indians. A series of four Acts was passed in 1897, which is admittedly intended to prevent unindentured Indians from obtaining temporary or permanent settlement in the Colony. The first is a quarantine law of exceptional severity obviously directed, not against contagious disease, but against immigration. The second Act, "to place restrictions on immigrants," practically prohibits Indian immigration by compelling the application for admission to be written and signed in one of the languages of Europe. Without such an authorisation an immigrant can receive a license to carry on any trade or calling only by incurring exceedingly heavy penalties, which are further imposed on any master or owner of a ship which may bring prohibited immigrants to the Colony. The third Act, "to amend the law relating to licenses to wholesale or retail dealers," places the right of granting or refusing licenses to trade in the hands of an officer appointed by the Town Councils or Boards representing the very classes most opposed to Indian competition. Nor is permission allowed to appeal against his decision in any court of law. It further provides that no license shall be issued to any person who does not keep his books of account in the English language. This provision shuts the door on all the large Indian traders and merchants who are unacquainted with English, while it is equally fatal to the smaller pedlars and hawkers who are unaccustomed to use any account books at all. The fourth Act "deals with the question of passes," a cause of infinite trouble and annoyance, and subjects any Indian found without a pass in his possession to arrest and imprisonment without any right of appeal or compensation for wrongful arrest and detention.

We do not agree with Sir Lepel Griffin when he says that these are "the only grievances" that call for protest. But we note that he himself adds that "these are but a few of the un-English and ungenerous political measures with which the Colony of Natal has, unwisely for its own interests, inaugurated its self-governing career." The whole of the miserable crusade against the Indians was fully and most impartially exposed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, a distinguished Hindu barrister of Natal, who was all but lynched on his return from India on January 13, 1897. The substance of Mr. Gandhi's statement may be seen in a few sentences of Mr. G. P. Pillai's speech at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in 1896. Mr. Pillai was moving "that this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interest of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected." Mr. Pillai summed up thus:—

Gentlemen, how strange and singular is our position! In India we are permitted to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In England even the doors of that august assembly, the House of Commons, are open to us. But in South Africa we are not permitted to travel without a pass, we are not allowed to walk about in the night, we are consigned to locations, we are denied admission to the first and second classes on railways, we are driven out of tramcars, we are pushed off footpaths, we are kept out of hotels, we are refused the benefits of the public paths [? baths], we are spat upon, we are hissed, we are cursed, we are hated, we are abused, and we are subjected to a variety of other indignities which no human being can patiently endure.

Here is a glaring contrast to the Queen's Proclamation. Here is an instructive picture of the British subject in a British Colony. Let us cease to criticise Russian methods. Let us no longer hear of the boast: "*Civis Romanus sum.*"

Now, what is all this extraordinary action for? What is the motive and object of it? At first it was placed on sanitary grounds; and, on allegations of unsanitariness among Indians, Mr. Kruger obtained Sir Hercules Robinson's sanction of the Act of 1885 as amended in 1886, and Lord Ripon's confirmation. Yet these allegations have been found to be absolutely untrue. On page 304 of INDIA (October), 1895, are printed three certificates from European doctors resident in Pretoria and Johannesburg, which demonstrate conclusively their absolute untruth. It is now acknowledged, says Sir Lepel Griffin, "by all competent authority, that the Indian immigrant compares favourably in personal cleanliness and morality with many European immigrants, while in sobriety and orderly conduct he is superior to most." But with the three medical certificates before him, Mr. Chamberlain still considered that Lord Ripon's sanction must stand. The question is at bottom not a question of race and colour, although race and colour have a good deal to do with these troubles in a subsidiary way. Neither is it really a question of labour. Natal is anxious enough to get hold of indentured labourers, for without them the industrial development of the country would be seriously, if not irremediably, checked. But it wants to keep them down in that subordinate position, so that they may be useful to employers, but may not be able to strike out for themselves. "The source of the agitation," as Sir Lepel Griffin pointed out, "is industrial and trade jealousy." "It is in the main," wrote "An Imperialist" in INDIA (June, 1897, page 175), "an effort on the part of a small selfish commercial class, who have utilised existing vulgar prejudices to secure the exclusion of commercial rivals and perpetuate their own monopoly of South African trade." These thrifty and laborious British Indians are met, not on fair grounds of competition, but with social prejudice, race antipathy, and political exclusion. The governing clique of a colony are permitted to drag in the dirt the traditions of English honour and justice.

The situation has again become acute. We printed last week a telegram from our Johannesburg correspondent, announcing the judicial decision "that the Government has power to remove Indians in the Transvaal to locations for both trade and residence," Judge Jorissen dissenting. "Great consternation prevails," said our correspondent. "It is feared that the removal to locations may paralyse trade. Large interests are at stake." All eyes are turned to the Colonial Office, to see what Mr. Chamberlain—who, by the way, is in America—will do with this test case. Of course, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out to the deputation in 1895, we are dealing with two classes of Governments—a foreign and friendly Government, and self-governing colonies. Mr. Chamberlain said he "could deal at once with anything in the nature of a personal outrage." Yet the treatment of British Indians in South Africa is more galling than "a personal outrage," and much more damaging to the credit of Great Britain. The situation is, in any case, intolerable; and, if diplomatic methods are to prevail at all, it is more than time that they were in definite operation. The British Indians in Africa may be personally helpless and little inclined to figure in "a

personal outrage," but they need not be longer wantonly exposed to the gross insolence of superior force. Besides, there is a reflex influence upon their compatriots in India, which may well occupy Lord George Hamilton's thoughts. It is to be hoped that the question will be taken up in the English constituencies in such fashion as to jog the inventiveness of the Indian and Colonial Secretaries. For the humiliations imposed on British Indian subjects by chance superiors for personal or class ends of the most sordid description, and abhorrent to principle and to honour, are humiliations shared by the people of England whose representatives permit them to continue. This festering sore must be lanced without more delay. It constitutes an intolerable disgrace to the name of Englishman. And, as Mr. Chamberlain cannot fail to perceive, the most effective way of bringing pressure to bear upon President Kruger in the Transvaal is to compel decent treatment of British Indians by their fellow-subjects in Cape Colony and Natal. It is for British colonists, who brag about empire, to cast the beam out of their own eye first.

THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

By E. H. Pickersgill, M.P.

We were informed by cablegram from Johannesburg a few days ago that judgment has at last been given in the "test" case upon the interpretation of law No. 3 of 1885, as amended in 1886. The court has decided that the Government of the South African Republic is empowered by that enactment to remove British Indians within their territory to special quarters or locations separated from the European population, for purposes of trade as well as residence. It is stated that this decision has caused great consternation, and that fear of the consequences is paralysing trade. In these circumstances it is imperative that public attention should be called to the present acute stage of this long-standing dispute, and that the good offices of the Colonial Secretary should forthwith be invoked. We shall await further information with much interest; but, meanwhile, I propose in the present article, first, to recapitulate very briefly the history of the subject, in order to show exactly where the Imperial Government stands in relation to it; and, secondly, to make clear that the question affects not only our Indian fellow-subjects, but that the interests of European merchants in South Africa, and of the whole community of consumers in the Transvaal, especially the poorer classes, are also involved.

In 1885 the Government of the South African Republic informed her Majesty's Government that they desired to assign locations, within certain prescribed limits, for Indian coolies and other Asiatics in their territory, and they enquired whether in the view of her Majesty's Government they were precluded from taking this step by the terms of Article 14 of the London Convention of 1884, which (*inter alia*) stipulates that—

> All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, will have full liberty with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic.

So far it is only right to recognise that the action of the Transvaal Government was perfectly correct and courteous. The High Commissioner, in forwarding the despatch to Lord Derby, who was then Secretary for the Colonies, recommended an amendment of Article XIV by substituting for the word "natives" the following words:—

> African natives or Indian or Chinese coolie immigrants.

Lord Derby, however, instead of acting upon this recommendation, preferred to suggest that the Volksraad should legislate in the proposed sense, having received an assurance that her Majesty's Government would not desire to insist upon any such construction of the terms of the Convention as would interfere with reasonable legislation *in the desired direction*. Therefore, the Volksraad passed a law (No 3, of 1885)

> applicable to the persons belonging to one of the aboriginal races of Asia, among whom are comprehended the so-called coolies, Arabs, Malays, and Mahometan subjects of the Turkish empire—

which (so far as concerns the immediate subject of this article) enacted in regard to such persons that

> the Government shall have the right to point out to them their proper streets, wards, and locations, where they shall reside.

Complaints having been received by Sir Hercules Robinson as to this law, he wrote to the Government of the South African Republic, pointing out that the new law appeared to be a breach of the understanding upon which her Majesty's Government waived their right to insist on a strict interpretation of the terms of the Convention of London, and that it was expressly understood by the Secretary of State that the proposed legislation was not to apply to Arab traders or merchants, but to Indian or Chinese coolie immigrants. It may be stated here that the misunderstanding between the two Governments appears to have arisen mainly from the different meanings attributed by them respectively to the word "coolie." Upon the one hand, it is stated that the word "coolie" means in the South African Republic every person belonging to or descended from the native races of Asia. Upon the other hand, it is beyond doubt that the word as used officially in England is invariably limited to Asiastic *labourers*, and does not embrace persons of a superior class. The Transvaal Government, in reply to Sir Hercules Robinson's representations, relied on the assurance given by Lord Derby, which has already been quoted. By this time Lord Derby had been succeeded in office by Lord Granville, who declined to accept the explanation offered by the South African Republic, and required that the law should be revised. In consequence, some amendments were made. The South African Republic explained that the object of the law was a sanitary one, and stated that they had no disinclination to let that object appear more clearly. Accordingly the words "for sanitary purposes" were introduced, and, while the descriptions of person to whom the law was applicable remained unaltered, the main provision respecting them quoted above was amended so as to run as follows:—

> The Government shall have the power for sanitary purposes of showing them fixed streets, wards, and locations for habitation.

The law in its revised form was accepted in 1886 by the late Mr. Edward Stanhope, who had then become Secretary of State. Thereupon, the treatment of British Indians residing in the South African Republic became for many years a subject of controversy between the Government of that State and her Majesty's Government, and eventually (in 1895) it was agreed to refer the matters in difference to arbitration. Now arbitration in its proper place is an excellent thing; but if this admirable principle is not to be discredited, it is incumbent upon our Government in all cases to exercise the greatest care as regards the subject of arbitration, the terms of reference, and the choice of an arbitrator. I doubt whether the dispute in question was a proper subject for arbitration. I doubt still more whether the arbitrator was well chosen. The Chief Justice of the Orange Free State is a lawyer of great attainments and high character; but his position rendered it difficult for him to be impartial, and it was known that he was biassed against the Indians. But, however opinions may differ upon these points, all, I think, will agree that our Government was guilty of a grave imprudence in submitting the case to arbitration without any definite "reference" at all. The award of the arbitrator was to the effect that—

> The South African Republic is bound and entitled in its treatment of Indian and other Asiatic traders, being British subjects, to give full force and effect to Law No. 3, of 1885, as amended in 1886, subject (in case of objections being raised by, or on behalf of any such persons to any such treatment as not being in accordance with the provisions of the said law as amended) to *sole and exclusive interpretation in the ordinary course by the tribunals of the country.*

Thus the Chief Justice declined to give a direct decision upon the matters referred to him. The decision of the Court of the Transvaal (to which he suggested an appeal) has just been given, and, as we have seen, is unfavourable to the Indian traders. In these circumstances we are entitled to call upon Mr. Chamberlain to fulfil the promise given in the last paragraph of his despatch of September, 1895. There he says:—

> Whilst desirous loyally to abide by the award, I reserve to myself the liberty later on, to make friendly representations to the South African Republic as to these traders, and possibly to invite that Government to consider whether, when once its legal position has been made good, it would not be wise to review the situation from a new point of view, and decide whether it would not be better in the interests of its own burghers to treat the Indians more generously, and to free itself from even the appearance of countenancing a trade jealousy, which I have some reason to believe does not emanate from the governing class in the Republic.

The appeal which Mr. Chamberlain here makes to the

interests of the burghers themselves is well-founded. The Blue-book contains a petition signed by many of them in which they say:—

The withdrawal of the Indian traders would be a dire calamity to us, especially those of us who, living far from centres of business, depend on the Indians for the supply of our daily wants.

And again:—

By their keen competition the Indians have been able to keep down the prices of necessaries of life, and have therefore been an invaluable boon to the poor classes of society in the State.

It may be added that the Indian traders in South Africa belong to the higher castes. In a leading article in the *Cape Times* it is stated that "those who for a few moments have stayed to converse with the Indian trader, have been perhaps surprised to find that they are speaking to a scholar and a gentleman."

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THE murder of the venerable and amiable Empress of Austria seems to combine every element of senseless savagery and wickedness in one act. The victim was an elderly, defenceless woman, one who declined to be mixed up with party politics or affairs of State, and who was celebrated throughout Europe alike for her kindness of heart, and the sufferings and misfortunes which have dogged her family and House. I suppose there never has been a royal family so pursued by fate as the House of Hapsburg. Well might the poor old Emperor exclaim "Am I to be spared no sorrow on earth?" when the sad news reached him, for assuredly it looks as though the furies and the fates had marked him out as their victim. Murder, suicide, insanity, and other visitations have removed member after member of that family, and now, when the Emperor is an old, old man, having just celebrated his "jubilee," and when he knows all too well that once he is gone Austria will very likely go to bits, in his anxious old age he finds his wife suddenly stabbed to death by a murderous scoundrel who seems to have chosen this victim because he was disappointed in not finding the Duke of Orleans. I do not believe in magnifying the sufferings of royalty, or in supposing that the griefs of the great are more real than the sorrows of ordinary men. But there is something shocking, nay appalling, in the manner in which blow after blow has descended upon the wretched Emperor of Austria.

I wrote last week about our big victory in the Sudan, and I think I made it quite clear that I recognised to the full the merits of the Sirdar, his patient foresight, his tireless attention to details, his inspiring example which had made men out of the Egyptians and Sudanese. But so outrageous was the tone of not a few papers about this battle, that I felt sure a reaction would appear before long, and so it has. I notice that a leading paper like the *Manchester Guardian* has protested against the manner in which a section of the public was gloating over the number of the killed. Of course, there was no help for it, I know. These Emirs scorn to ask for quarter. They would as soon think of accepting as of giving it, and so there is nothing for it but to shoot them down. It would not be fair to our brave Egyptian allies to say that the enormous slaughter of the Dervishes was due to bloodthirstiness on the part of the Egyptians. It was a necessity—but a sad necessity—and there is something hideously indecent in the manner in which some persons and papers at home have been rejoicing over the thousands of the slain. Again, it makes one sick to hear so much talk about "Gordon avenged." I can imagine the indignation of that adventurous man could he hear the talk of some of his modern admirers. This vulgar and brutal idea of vengeance was utterly foreign to Gordon's disposition, and is only part of a paltry catchpenny policy by which a few politicians of the baser sort think they can extract a little party advantage out of a successful military action.

In connexion with our policy in Egypt and the Sudan it is always necessary to remember that the soldier and the statesman should be judged separately. The soldier has hitherto done his work admirably; but it remains to be seen whether the statesman will make a mess of it or not. There is every chance of what the quidnuncs love to term an "imbroglio" in that part of the world. For instance, already disquieting news comes to the effect that the French are at Fashoda. It is not quite thoroughly established that the white men in possession at Fashoda are French, for it is just possible that they may be Major Macdonald's expedition. But it is far more probable that they are the members of Major Marchand's force, an expedition which has the avowed object of establishing a French claim of effective occupation on the Upper Nile, and thus checking the extension of British influence southwards. If so, Lord Salisbury need have no hesitation as to how to act, for the late Government, through the mouth of Sir Edward Grey, let France know with perfect clearness that any such expedition would be regarded by this country as an unfriendly act. Unfortunately for this country Lord Salisbury, who was once regarded as a sort of foreign policy Sandow, or strong man, has long since been found out, and of all the men who have ever been at the Foreign Office, he is the most likely to consent to some half and half arrangement, some compromise in a case in which France has not, in the opinion of some of us, a shred or shadow of a case. The victory of Omdurman has by no means settled the question of the Sudan and the Nile.

Suddenly in the midst of these more absorbing matters the attention of Europe has been called back to Crete. The dreary old farce of the admirals and the Concert, collective notes, and all the rest of it has been going on round that island for month after month, until the months have made years, and apparently the end is not yet. In the midst of all this Turkish brutality has suddenly boiled over, with the result that not a few British soldiers and subjects have been killed. I suppose something will be done, and yet not much, for somehow or other our Government has a strange tenderness for the Turk, while there was no hesitation when our big guns were employed to bombard the Christians who were struggling to free themselves from tyranny. This Crete affair, from the beginning until now, has been an awful example of mismanagement, and it may be that in the end the Turk himself, by his insolence and brutality, will succeed in getting the Powers to do something—the very duty they have so carefully and successfully avoided so far. It is strange while this subject is being forced upon public attention that rumours should be industriously circulated in the Press to the effect that this country is going to enter into an alliance with the Sultan. I know not what amount of credence should be given to a rumour which comes from Constantinople via Paris, but this is what Reuter telegraphs from the French capital:—

A message from Constantinople states that it is believed there that Sir Nicholas O'Conor, the British Ambassador, who will arrive there next week, will be the bearer of an overture for a *rapprochement* with Turkey, whom Great Britain hopes to induce to enter into a policy of opposition both to Russia and Germany.

Many things are from time to time believed in Constantinople, no doubt, but I imagine that in this country scarcely anyone except that alien politician, Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, would desire an alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, or would suppose that such an alliance, even if concluded, would make us formidable to Russia and Germany. But it is a far cry from the rumoured overtures for a *rapprochement* to an actual treaty of alliance. I can quite believe, however, that Abdul would welcome the overtures heartily, as in all such transactions England is in the habit of finding the one thing which Turkey always lacks—gold. And what a fitting climax it would be to Lord Salisbury's nerveless and humiliating foreign policy—an alliance with the Sultan! Is there one bishop in the House of Lords who would have anything to say against such a proposal?

Foreign affairs seem to have occupied by far the greater part of the public attention during the last week, yet here in London there is one matter of strictly domestic policy which must have been forced painfully upon the notice of not a few daily and almost hourly. I refer to the lack of water in the East of London. The scandal is growing worse and worse. The Company, secure in its monopolist rights, and conscious that no great evil can befall it while the Tories are in power, goes on cutting down the supply of water more and more, and yet enforces the payment of water-rates relentlessly. The officials snap their fingers at the storm of public opinion, for is not Mr. Chaplin at the Local Government Board. This reflection inspires the monopolists with a feeling of sweet security similar to

that of the little boy who always smiled blandly at the storm when his father was at the helm. I believe that the sequel to the touching tale of filial confidence was that both the smiling boy and the good father were swept away. It is certainly likely to be so in connexion with this London water famine. Not for long will the public endure the outrages of the East London Waterworks Company, nor for long will it allow the supply of such a prime necessity of health and life to remain in the hands of private commercial companies. And the Government will have to pay heavily for its friendliness to this monopoly when the next appeal to the people takes place. Already some London Tory members have taken fright and are beginning to join in the agitation. It will not do them much good so long as their own official leaders take the other side. The monopolists put the Government in, and now they claim their reward, and are getting it. As to the future, may I not say with regard both to the monopolists and their ministerial patrons in the grim words of scripture, "Verily, they have their reward"?

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, September 8.—The "Tyne" left Malta for Candia with a detachment of the Border regiment.—Incomplete lists of the British soldiers and sailors killed on the first day of the rising were published. It was estimated that 800 Christians had been massacred. The town was pillaged by the Bashi-Bazouks and Turkish troops. All reports agreed as to the disgraceful conduct of the latter. They were seen firing on Colonel Reid. The mob ran through the streets shouting "Death to the English."

The report that Li Hung Chang had been dismissed from the Tsung-li-Yamen by Imperial decree was confirmed. The German journals regarded the event as of great importance in Eastern affairs and a diplomatic triumph for Great Britain.

From St. Petersburg it was reported that satisfactory progress was being made with the negotiations for an Anglo-Russian agreement in the Far East.

The American Ambassador was waited on at his private residence in Carlton House Terrace by a deputation of the Anglo-American League, headed by Mr. Bryce, M.P., who presented him with an address expressing regret at his approaching departure from this country, bearing warm testimony to the tact, judgment, and courtesy with which he had discharged his weighty and delicate duties, and rejoicing in the marked increase in the feeling of friendship and co-operation between the two nations which had taken place during his tenure of office. Mr. Hay, in reply, said that their sentiments of kinship and amity were reciprocated to the utmost in his country. On both sides of the ocean the conviction was almost universal that a cordial understanding between Great Britain and America was a necessity of civilisation.

The result of the polling for North Down was declared. Mr. J. Blakiston-Houston (C.) was returned, receiving 3,381 votes, against 3,107 recorded for Mr. T. L. Corbett (C.).

FRIDAY, September 9.—A correspondent telegraphing from "off Candia" said that communications were still difficult, and it was impossible to land. The torpedo depôt ship "Vulcan" had arrived with 500 troops, and a battery from Malta was expected to-night. It was now asserted that the outbreak of Tuesday was preconcerted, and serious charges were preferred against the Turkish Governor, Edhem Pasha, who, it was said, could have prevented the trouble. The official report gave the total of the British losses of soldiers and sailors as 12 killed and 42 wounded. The number of Christians massacred could not yet be ascertained. There were believed to be from 1,000 to 1,200 in Candia, and of these only 358 were rescued.—A Reuter despatch from Canea said that the Admirals, in reply to a protest from the Cretan Executive Committee against the massacre at Candia, had declared that they would recommend their Governments to enforce the removal of the Turkish troops, and to appoint a Governor.—From Vienna it was stated that the opinion was entertained there that the removal of the Turkish garrison was an indispensable preliminary to the pacification of the island.

The Pekin Correspondent of the *Times* said that Li Hung Chang still retained the position of Senior Grand Secretary, but, anticipating dismissal, would probably resign. He deceived the Tsung-li-Yamen as to the true nature of the terms of the Lu-han Railway contract. It was unknown whether Russia would acquiesce in the removal of the main instrument of Russian aggressiveness in Peking; but it was believed that Li, having served his end, would be abandoned.

On Friday night a signal was made from the international camp at Candia that the Bashi-Bazouks were preparing to attack the camp. Decks were cleared for action and search-lights and guns were laid on the town, but no attack was made. There was great excitement throughout the whole island; at Canea the Christians were panic-stricken and seeking refuge on the ships. A force of 5,000 insurgents assembled at a British outpost near Candia, and were eager to co-operate with the British in an attack on the Turkish garrison. The President of the Cretan Assembly officially addressed the Admirals, ascribing the outbreak to the presence of the Turkish troops in Crete, and intimating that the Executive Committee of the Assembly resigned until the Turkish Administration retired.

It was announced that Lord Lansdowne had obtained the Queen's consent to the restoration of Colonel F. Rhodes's commission and rank.

SATURDAY, September 10.—One of the most cruel and purposeless murders recorded in modern annals was perpetrated to-day, when the Empress of Austria was fatally stabbed at Geneva by an Anarchist of Parisian birth, but Italian origin, named Luccheni. The Empress, who had been staying for some weeks at Montreux, made a visit to Geneva this morning in a small steamer. She lunched at the Hotel Beaurivage, and shortly before one o'clock left the hotel and was walking down to the floating pier to re-embark on the steamer when Luccheni stepped up as if to speak to her, suddenly drew a stiletto from his pocket, and stabbed her in the region of the heart. The Empress fell to the ground with a faint cry, but immediately rose to her feet, and with the assistance of her suite reached the steamer, which was at once started. As, however, the Empress very soon became unconscious, the vessel returned to the pier, and the Empress was carried back to the hotel, where she died shortly afterwards. The murderer, after inflicting the wound, ran off, but was captured by two cabmen, who handed him over to the police. He offered no resistance. At the police-station he declared that he was an Anarchist, but refused to answer questions. The intelligence caused the utmost horror throughout the Dual Monarchy, and indeed throughout the civilised world.

It was reported from Omdurman that news of the occupation of Fashoda by a force of white men reached the Khalifa a few days before the arrival of the Anglo-Egyptian army. He sent two steamers to investigate the matter. One of them returned to Omdurman on Wednesday last, and surrendered to the Sirdar. The captain reported that he found Fashoda occupied by a white force which fired heavily on him, killed many of his men, and obliged him to retreat. It was believed that this force was French, and the gunboats were to be sent up the Nile as soon as possible.

MONDAY, September 12.—A *post-mortem* examination of the body of the late Empress of Austria, held on Sunday afternoon, showed that the wound inflicted by the assassin was more than three inches deep, and completely pierced the heart. The body was to-day deposited in a *chapelle ardente*, and a demonstration of the sympathy and sorrow of the Swiss people took place in the form of a popular procession, organised by the Council of State, which marched past the Hotel Beaurivage, headed by the leading officials of the Swiss Republic. From 60,000 to 70,000 persons took part in the demonstration. Messages of condolence continued to be received by the Austrian Emperor and Government, and signs of the public grief were universal throughout Austria-Hungary. The funeral of the Empress will take place in Vienna on Saturday, and the German Emperor and the King of Saxony will in all likelihood attend.

It was reported from Candia that the Admirals had sent identical telegrams to their Governments in which they described the situation as very grave. The Christians were assembling and marching on Candia, where a conflict was imminent; while at Retimo and Canea the Mahometans had assumed a menacing attitude. The Admirals were of opinion that the Turkish authorities were responsible for the situation. They were asked for reinforcements, and demanded that the Turkish Government should withdraw the Bashi-Bazouks now in Candia, and afterwards the Turkish authorities and troops. The British commander at Candia stated that the Turkish troops fired on the British, and they certainly did nothing to prevent the rising. About 600 men, women, and children were burnt alive or massacred.

TUESDAY, September 13.—It was reported from Candia that Admiral Noel had handed an ultimatum to Edhem Pasha demanding the delivery of the ringleaders in the recent outbreak, some immediately and others within 48 hours, for summary punishment. If this was refused the admiral would probably take extreme measures. He further demanded that the tithes collected since September 3 should be handed over, and that the forts and ramparts commanding the town should be surrendered. A transport arrived at Candia with a battalion of the Welsh Fusiliers, who landed in the harbour and marched into camp under Turkish escort.—A telegram from Athens said that there were 6,600 European troops at Candia. As soon as the instigators of the disturbances had been given up and punished disarmament would take place.

General Wheeler was stated to have expressed his belief that the war between America and Spain was not over, and to have said President M'Kinley had told him that he had no faith that the Peace Commission would settle the differences with Spain over the Philippines.—President M'Kinley, receiving on Monday a deputation of Baltimore Quakers, who presented an

address in favour of peace, made an important pronouncement. He asked the deputation how much of the Philippines they thought the United States should hold, and when the reply was given that a naval base would be sufficient, he said that to do that a large standing army would be required. It was a question with him how much of destiny there was in the present situation, and what was their duty to the people of the Philippines. No decision had yet been reached by him, and fortunately he had not to decide the question at once. To pacify Cuba would require 50,000 men, and from 10,000 to 12,000 would be needed for Puerto Rico. He approved the Tsar's proposal, and would send a representative to an international peace conference. He was not in favour of war with Spain, but, when once in it, he thought it most conducive to peace to push it vigorously.—The War Department proposed to place Cuba under a major-general of the regular army.

WEDNESDAY, September 14.—From Candia it was stated that Admiral Noel had insisted that the Turkish authorities should, as a preliminary measure, demolish the houses in the neighbourhood of the camp whence the Bashi-Bazouks fired on the British troops. This demand was complied with to-day. Edhem Pasha was informed that if he apprehended any difficulty in complying with the terms of the Admiral's ultimatum he must remove the women and children from the town; but the Mahometans were terrified at the display of force, and it was reported this evening that the Turkish authorities had already arrested twenty of the ringleaders in the recent outbreak while it was expected that they would surrender the arms demanded without any great opposition. Her Majesty's battleship "Illustrious" arrived at Candia today.—Reuter telegrams stated that the Bashi-Bazouks had consented to be disarmed, on condition that they were permitted to surrender their weapons to the Turkish authorities.—The Porte on Sunday issued two circulars on the Cretan question, the first alleging that the British provoked the disorders at Candia, and the second refusing to withdraw its troops from the island.

The alleged agreement between Great Britain and Germany regarding the future of Delagoa Bay was being keenly discussed in the German Press. The Chauvinistic organs were loud in their denunciations of any such arrangement, and a society calling itself the "Pan-Germanic Union" recently passed a resolution condemnatory of the abandonment of Delagoa Bay and of the Boers as "impossible," and inconsistent with the honour of the German nation. The *Cologne Gazette* had an article ridiculing and condemning these invectives.

A FABLE OF CURRENCY.

In a bowl to sea went wise men three,
On a brilliant night in June,
They carried a net, and their hearts were set,
On fishing up the Moon.

—*T. Love Peacock.*

ONCE upon a time eleven wise men were sent forth into a wide, plain country—not to sow, but to seek. The object for which their masters bid them seek, it had been agreed to designate "A Solution."

This search had to be conducted not quite at random; for there were certain written instructions given to the eleven through the hand of their leader, a fowler. The directions for the search were somewhat vague; except as to one negative precept, presently to be mentioned. This plain country was crossed here and there with furrows, left by persons called "Theorists." It was also dotted about with pitfalls, said to have been contrived by "Currency Doctors;" but the joint wisdom of the eleven was trusted to save them from all stumbling at once into such by-traps, care having been taken to exclude from the chosen wise eleven certain sorts of men who, being otherwise, would have been prone so to stumble. These wise men were not from the ancient town of Gotham; but rather from the more modern haunts of Lothbury and Whitehall.

Now there were scattered over this plain various mounds (suggestive of possible treasure-trove); also several big bushes, tempting the eleven to beat about them on the chance of their finding that much desired "Solution." From these mounds and bushes little flags obtruded, on which quaint phrases were inscribed, such as "Stable-exchange;" "Gold standard *cum* silver currency;" "Closed mints *versus* automatic coinage;" "Token or intrinsic value rupees;" "Indian hoards and English sovereigns;" "Transition period," and "Final decision;" also, more prominent than the rest, the legend "Speedy legislation." It may be considered that these mounds and bushes might well bewilder the eleven wise men; but under the guidance of their leaders, and impelled to zeal by the order of their masters, they started on their quest with light hearts, and—they are searching still.

Now the hopeful mood in which they started had been rendered possible by a mist that hung over the further side of the plain, where, to the seeing eye, loomed a huge mass like unto a haystack. This by aid of a duly focussed field-glass might be discovered as showing its flag inscribed "*Tribute.*" But the glass was not always available. Somehow, the eyes of the eleven men were holden so that none could perceive that—haystack. It is not easy to explain this obscurity of vision on their part; but these were days of occultism, wireless telegraphy, and other delusive conditions, so that the cause of the searchers being thus blinded in that special direction can only be guessed at. The surmise is that the masters of those searchers, of whom the fowler aforesaid was an apt pupil, had, somehow, passed round sealed orders, expressed in Volapuk, to this effect: "Now a Solution you must find; but one that shall not cost *us* anything. No matter what burden your Solution may impose on that part of the country where stands the haystack marked 'Tribute.' You may dig into any of the mounds and beat the bushes as hard and long as you like, so that you bring out a Solution of some sort; but you must severely avoid that haystack. You are *not* to see it. Respect this!"

Now these things are an allegory; but if any open-minded persons care to seek for an interpretation they will find some clues in many previous pages of INDIA, *e.g.*, that of November, 1897, page 343, paras. iii and iv; February 11, page 89; January 21, p. 40; May 6, p. 277; May 13, p. 294; and again, so recently as August 26, or September 2.

No doubt some folk may feel these references troublesome; but this subject, which covers the largest part of the whole Indian problem, is for those who are willing to look below the surface; and though this generation seeketh after signs on the housetop, it is unto wise men that this fable speaketh, and to their judgment is appeal made.

AN INDIAN STORY-TELLER.

THE TAMING OF THOMAS THE WALER.

THOMAS was fiddleheaded, ewe-necked, bad-tempered and untrained; and owing to these imperfections in character and appearance he was bought cheap at public auction in Calcutta and sent up-country to do duty as a harness horse at my factory in Behar. But planters' syces as a rule are not adepts in teaching polite manners to unbroken walers, so Thomas in his ignorance developed a dislike for hard work. When put into single-harness he would back and jib alternately, and then jump off with a bound that threatened to wreck the dogcart to which he was attached. These tricks soon turned Thomas into what is colloquially termed a confirmed "planter." In fact he refused to move in harness under any consideration. He was then transferred to the four-horse brake, in which he varied his performances by throwing himself down and allowing the other three horses to drag him along the ground. This method of procedure, however, gradually instilled a sense of duty in Thomas's ill-balanced mind, and after a time he was again sent back to dogcart work. It was at this period of his career that I arrived from England the proud possessor of a cart built by a famous maker in Stirling.

Under the influence of steady and careful driving, Thomas was attaining a reputation free from reproach. This good behaviour on his part made the syce careless in handling him, and one morning, when he was being harnessed to my brand-new dogcart, I heard an ominous sound which made me turn round in time to see the syce knocked senseless on the ground, while Thomas was busily engaged in kicking the dogcart to pieces as he disappeared down the broad Government road in the direction of his stable. I had already driven the wretch a dâk in the early morning, so this outburst of temper on his part was by way of showing his objection to being kept waiting by the road-side for another spell of hateful work. After putting the syce on his legs I proceeded in search of the dogcart and Thomas—being guided on my way by stray cushions and broken pieces of the splashboard. First I found the battered body of the dogcart, then the broken shafts, and last of all Thomas himself was discovered lying in a grove of mango trees hopelessly entangled in the harness, to which the splinter-bar was still attached. Blood was streaming from deep cuts on his legs and body, and I never saw him before in such a sub- [illegible] mind. I led him slowly home to have his [illegible] I could not make up my mind to forgive [illegible] best dogcart and nearly killing my syce.

A hard-riding young indigo-planter was entrusted with the education of the recalcitrant Thomas at his new home. Falls from horseback were accepted as part of the day's work by this young gentleman, who, I remember, once told me that he was thoroughly enjoying himself on a day in which I saw him have several severe falls—falls which made him bound off the ground like an indiarubber ball. Thomas was, therefore, in the hands of a man who appreciated his eccentricities. Moreover, Thomas was promoted from the degraded drudgery of harness work to the dignified position of a saddle horse. During the time that his education was proceeding in a manner that afforded unbounded satisfaction to himself and to his rider, an officer of the 21st Hussars[1] arrived on a visit to the good people at Barhoga. This officer was anxious to obtain some pigsticking, and I was asked to entertain him at my place on the wide diara of the Gandak river. The season, however, was far advanced,

[1] The 21st in those days was an Hussar regiment.

to make the wily boar break. I accordingly wrote to the Barhoga people that the only places I could search for pig were in outlying patches of jungle which were given over to the flocks and herds of the villagers, and the chances were ten to one against finding anything in cover of that description. This off-chance was, however, considered good enough by the young officer, who was longing to see something of the sport that had lured him all the way from Bangalore to Behar.

When the young hussar arrived at my bungalow I asked him about his pigstickers. "Oh, I have brought Thomas with me," was the reply which I received. I gazed at the soldier with admiration in my eyes, and regretted exceedingly that the green and luxuriant condition of my pig preserves in the Gandak diara prevented me from putting the best that I had before him. At the same time, I ventured to doubt Thomas's capabilities at the nimble sport of pigsticking. "Oh, but he is a perfect gentleman now," said the gallant hussar. "I have been riding him constantly at Barhoga, and made him amenable to reason." On the following morning I saw Thomas in a sane condition of mind, being quietly ridden by the hussar from one piece of jungle to another, as I vainly searched for pig in the grazing grounds of my diara—Thomas in a snaffle bridle dodging in and out among the coolies, cattle, and elephants as cleverly as if he had been a well-trained polo pony. And the man who then rode him was Mr. de Montmorency, the young soldier who at Omdurman assisted the other day in bringing Lieutenant Grenfell's body out of the hands of the Dervishes.

Donald N. Reid.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

THE PRESS ON THE "INDIAN BUDGET."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—It is useful as well as fair that you included in your extracted "Press Opinions" on the Indian Budget debate those that were "bad and indifferent"—these last being, as usual, chiefly from London evening journals. It is well thus to show impartial lookers-on "the utter inability of certain *journalists* to master the first elementary facts of the problem" that Indian affairs present. Such writers instinctively seek to hide their "utter inability" in this respect, partly by slanging the few public men "who do know something about India" and who strive to do their duty thereanent; and partly by twaddling variations of such sapient phrases as "India is not England." But such chattering cant deceives no one except the writers themselves.

So much for the general run of these "bad and indifferent" comments. But the particular illustration of this ignorant and cantankerous method of pretending to deal with an imperial question you quote from the *Scotsman*, touches the nadir of journalistic indecency. The blundering misconception or malicious misrepresentation (which you like) with which the Edinburgh scribe treats the member for Banffshire, reminds one of the "yellow" journals of New York, and excites the scorn of every true Briton. The *Scotsman* has, or had, honourable traditions—not the least being that in its columns used to appear the earnest and masterly exposure, by the late Colonel R. Osborn, of the ruinous trans-frontier policy which has wrought irreparable mischief for India. In this gross libel on "one who does know something about India," and who strives, under unmerited obloquy, to render that knowledge of service to the Empire, the Edinburgh writer affords a lamentable example of that evil-conditioned creature, "the bird that 'files his ain nest." What can be more "anti-British" and "disloyal" than such ignorant abuse as that quoted from the *Scotsman* in your recent week's issue?

Yours, etc.,
An Anglo-Indian Journalist.

London, August 1898.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

Mr. [illegible] [illegible] to his constituents last Friday (September 9) said:—

Another, and in its way, an equally gratifying event which will always render the present year memorable in history, was the circular which had recently been issued by the Foreign Minister of the Tsar of Russia, inviting the Powers of the world to confer together in order that some practical step might be taken to arrest the progress of the insane and ruinous competition in armaments. It was easy to indulge in cynical comments as to the origin of this remarkable document, and as to the precise moment which was chosen for its issue. In his judgment—and, he hoped, in their's—the quarter from which it proceeded gave it a special title to the favourable and sympathetic consideration of the inhabitants of these islands. The present Tsar was the grandson of the Emperor Alexander II, who was gratefully and affectionately remembered by his own people, and would be honourably remembered in the history of the world as the Tsar-Liberator, for it was he who performed since the grass in my preserves had already taken a fresh lease of life and formed a dense cover, out of which it was impossible what was perhaps the most colossal, and one might also call it the most quixotic, act of humanity in the whole history of despotism in the emancipation of the serfs of Russia. (Cheers.) The Tsar, again, was the son of the late Emperor Alexander III, whose glory it was that, wielding as he did the mightiest military force on the whole surface of the globe, he lived and died at peace with all the world. (Cheers.) Those were the antecedents of the Tsar himself as a person; but to us the Tsar was the Emperor and the autocrat of Russia. Of all the Powers in the world with whom we were connected, as we were with our brethren across the sea, with ties of blood and kinship, there was none with whom it was more important that we should be on terms of amity and good feeling than the Power of Russia. (Cheers.) Between Russia and ourselves had been divided in the course of events the great task of governing and of civilising peoples and nations. Whether we liked it or not, as he pointed out the other day in the House of Commons, we could not escape the contiguity, the neighbourhood, that the force of events had brought about, which compelled us with or against our will, to live side by side with Russia in Asia. Then surely it ought not to be beyond the resources of statesmanship that two great Powers to whom destiny had assigned such a mission, under such conditions, should be able to arrange with one another, not by formal alliances or by paper treaties, such a good understanding, such common principles of action, as to enable each to discharge to the full its share of the task which had been assigned to it without constant suspicions, rivalries, misunderstandings, and quarrels. Those were grounds why the people of Great Britain should receive with the most cordial goodwill this proposal, and do everything in their power to promote its success. That there were practical difficulties in the way was only too obvious. They were difficulties which arose to a large extent from the condition of the past. There had been wars of religion, wars of emancipation, wars brought about by the honourable, natural, and legitimate desire for national unification. Those causes, though they had not ceased altogether to operate, did not operate in these days with anything like the same force as they did in times gone by, and the reasons which dictated the continuance and growth of these vast, bloated, and ruinous armaments which we saw around us in Europe, were either the desire for nations to regain that which they had lost, or to keep that which they won in war; or, still more frequently in these days, to help in the annexation and maintenance of new markets for industry and commerce. Those were feelings, motives, and ambitions which they could not destroy, and which they could not harmonise in a day. Every practical man must recognise to the full that it was no good in this matter living in a fool's paradise. Formidable obstacles lay in the way; but it behoved us, it behoved the Government and this country—and he confidently hoped and believed that in this respect the Government would do their duty and fulfil the aspirations of the vast majority of the people—to leave no stone unturned to bring so far as in them lay to a successful issue this great and beneficent project. (Cheers.)

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE RELEASE OF MR. TILAK.

The release of the Hon. Bal Gangadhar Tilak after serving two-thirds of his sentence may be said to mark another stage in Lord George Hamilton's partial repentance for the panic-stricken policy which he adopted in dealing with the troubles at Poona last year. An earlier stage was seen in the conditional release of the brothers Natu, who, under the same influences of panic, were arrested and deported without trial. Mr. Tilak, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and a scholar of high attainments, was sentenced on September 14 last by Mr. Justice Strachey to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment for an alleged offence against Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. He was [illegible] of attempting to [illegible]gs of disaffection towards the Government of India. A more ludicrous charge, or a more unjust verdict, it would be difficult to conceive. The incriminated "articles," as they were called, appeared in the *Kesari*—Anglice, "Lion"—of which Mr. Tilak was editor. But no English journalist would call them articles. One was a report of a meeting—the Shivaji coronation festival. The other was a set of imaginative verses sent in by a contributor. Neither was written by Mr. Tilak, whose only contribution to the *Kesari* of that date was an admittedly unexceptionable leading article on the Queen's Jubilee. The incriminated matter appeared on June 15. Mr. Tilak was not arrested until some weeks afterwards, nor would he have been arrested at all but for the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst on Jubilee day. Lord G. Hamilton's theory then was that the murders were largely due to inflammatory writing in the Vernacular Press, and he acted upon this theory with the ruthlessness of sheer ignorance. Since that time the theory has been exploded by the confession, conviction, and execution of the assassin, one Damodar Chapekar, a Marathi singer who could not read. Mr. Tilak's unjust imprisonment should at least have ceased when [illegible]

hanged. He has been released at length, after declining to sue for "mercy." Unfortunately the preposterous interpretation of the law by means of which Mr. Justice Strachey secured his conviction has been almost completely incorporated in the new law of sedition which Lord G. Hamilton compelled the Government of India to pass last spring, and of which we are beginning to see the dire effects in India.—*Morning Leader* (September 8).

We are glad to see that the Hon. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has been released after serving two-thirds of the eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment to which he was sentenced by Mr. Justice Strachey on September 14 last. Mr. Tilak himself resolutely declined to appeal to the Government for what is called mercy. But not many weeks ago a petition which Professor Max Müller and Sir William Hunter were instrumental in preparing was submitted to the Queen, and it is reasonable to assume that the curtailment of the sentence, though usual in the case of well-behaved prisoners, has something to do with that intercession. The scandal is that an innocent man like Mr. Tilak—a scholar and a politician held in high respect in India—should have been made the victim of Lord G. Hamilton's panic-stricken ignorance. Lord G. Hamilton, when he arrested Mr. Tilak and the Natu brothers last summer, thought they were connected with the Poona murders of Jubilee day. The theory was utterly groundless, as the subsequent confession and execution of the murderer Chapekar showed. But panic and ignorance carried the day, and, while the Natu brothers were imprisoned without trial, the law was strained to the point of sheer absurdity in order to secure Mr. Tilak's conviction. We cannot enter now into the merits of a case which we have previously discussed at some length. But let it not be forgotten that though Mr. Tilak—now something like a national hero in India—has come out of gaol, the purport of Mr. Justice Strachey's monstrous summing-up in his case has been incorporated in the new law of sedition in India. This law was passed by the Government of India, under protest, at the bidding of Lord G. Hamilton. It is indeed impossible to fathom the mischief which this ridiculous Minister has contrived to do in India since 1895.—*Star* (September 8).

THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENCY.

It is permissible to doubt whether the Indian Government will gain much by the investigations of this body. So far as the evidence published in the first Blue-Book goes, no means whereby a definite policy can be fixed upon is yet furnished. But it may be noticed that the mercantile witnesses best qualified to speak about the requirements of Indian commerce, on the whole, give their testimony either in favour of re-opening the mints to the coinage of silver, or against the policy which closed them. In this connexion we may draw attention here to the weighty utterances of Mr. David Yule, printed on another page. Testimony from practical men of this stamp is worth reams of theory, and what we like least about such collections of opinion as are found in the latest Currency Blue-Book is that they confuse the issue and the minds of the people alike. Ordinary students of the question have not the power to discriminate between the value of such opinions as those of Mr. Henry Raphael, Mr. Ewen Cameron, Mr. Stephen Ralli, or Sir Frank Forbes Adam. To most people, the opinions of Sir Samuel Montagu or Lord Rothschild will seem fully as worthy of attention as those of Indian planters, merchants, or manufacturers. Therefore, the issue becomes confused, instead of clearer, through these collections of views, suggestions, prophecies, and complaints. A little reflection, however, should satisfy unprejudiced people that the men most intimately acquainted with the wants of India and with the economic state of Indian people must be best qualified to indicate what should be done to remedy the present dangerous position of her commerce. Lord Rothschild may be, and is, *facile princeps* in general questions of exchange, and an admirable exponent of the laws governing the fluctuations of the money market, and yet be unfitted by his position as world-embracing dealer in credit to pronounce upon the necessities and requirements of any particular country. Men of this stamp have only general and outside knowledge of India, and not one of these betrays, in the evidence given, that perception of its semi-bankrupt condition which, as Mr. Yule points out, the Simla Government was itself the first to proclaim to the world.

Weighty words, nevertheless, came from more than one witness whose knowledge of India is not official, but whose familiarity with the laws governing fluctuations in exchange is profound enough to enable them to see through dangerous attempts to control the selling price of bills of exchange according to a theory. We have all along contended that the root of the difficulty lies in the extravagance of the Indian Government, and in the excessive amounts which its wastefulness and free use of capital borrowed in England compel it to remit every year to London. Take away half the thirty million pounds, more or less—seldom less—which has to be sent home every year without equivalent, irrespective of the capacity of Indian commerce to bear the strain, and the currency difficulty would at once cease to press for urgent solution. To remit this money, and at the same time to maintain the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 4d., is, on the existing basis of Indian trade, an impossibility, and the attempt can only, as Mr. Raphael and other witnesses pointed out, be made at the cost of the prosperity of the country. An artificial restriction of the currency has to be resorted to, and that becomes every year more difficult and perilous. In the slack season "money" becomes cheap, in the busy one it is unprocurable at any price. This has been the course of events every year in India since the mints were closed in 1893, and with an increased acuteness as each successive season comes round. It is not much use to enquire and theorise while all the time the trade of India and her as yet struggling industries are in peril of decay and extinction.

Years ago it was pointed out in these pages that a declining or adverse exchange was a godsend to India, provided the fall was not permitted to go too far; provided also that the rulers of India took warning from it and checked their career of conquest and extravagance in time. The warning has not been heeded. Instead of setting to work to cut down home charges, to reduce the burdens imposed by the army and by the costliest civil service in the world, the Simla Government determined to cook the exchange so as to create an artificial appearance of solvency. By doing this it oppressed the export trade and stimulated imports, thereby narrowing more and more the margin of excess of exports upon which its power to draw on London rests. And not this merely. As Mr. Stephen Ralli demonstrated, the policy of withholding silver rupees from the people has so diminished the supply that the price of loanable capital has risen in India to from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. during the busy season. A little while longer and rupees will not be available for loan at any price, nor can any device imaginable realise abundance to the market short of a re-opening of the mints to the coinage of this metal. Nothing could well be more vain than the hope that the establishment of a gold standard by a fiat of the supreme power would make money abundant in the markets of Calcutta and Bombay. On this point also we commend the study of Mr. Yule's speech. What has the Government to offer to the Indian people as an inducement to it to bring forth its hoards of gold? It can offer none, because the urgency of its requirements in London would force it at no distant day to export this gold. The borrowing here has but to stop to throw the whole of Indian Government finance into confusion at once. Then the capacity to export gold would alone remain as the last chance of escape from default which the Indian Government would have. With this danger ahead of them and clearly discernible, is it the least probable that the wealthy natives in India would bring their stores of gold to the mints? We think not; but they may, as things are, establish a brisk and profitable trade in illicit rupees.

Were India ruled by practical men of business the danger now imminent would have been seen and provided for long ago. It is not so ruled, unfortunately. "The Government of India," as Mr. Raphael said, "is practically indifferent to all considerations other than maintaining the rupee at 1s. 4d." That is the desperate aim, and to attain it the bureaucrats are prepared to ruin the dependency. They refuse to take into account any purpose except this, and we are quite prepared to see a "gold standard" set up by them in opposition to the wants of the people and the desires of the Indian business community. But for their impatient eagerness to take a step of this fatal kind, why have published now a portion of the evidence taken by the Committee and without any report upon that evidence? The truth is that the bureaucratic mind does grasp something of the imminence of the danger now hanging over Indian finances and trade, but refuses altogether to consider any practical remedy which would seem to threaten its beloved, or "last stand," sixteen-penny rupee. Nor is official India without reason in holding to this obstructive and mulish attitude—reason from its point of view. It would be impossible to re-open the mints again without at the same time revising the whole of the policy of government which has dominated the Indian official mind since the days of Lord Lytton. Economy would have to be practised, something of the old habits of "John Company" would have to be again adopted towards the covenanted civil servant—longer terms of service, fewer leaves of absence in Europe, perhaps smaller pay—and the military riotous waste would have to be stopped, as well as the regardless speed of new railway building. We are firmly convinced that the true remedy for the increasing agony of India and Indian trade is to re-open the mints to silver, but at the same time know that this remedy will be unsuccessful by itself. To do good and to restore India to economic health, stringent self-denying ordinances must also be enforced throughout all departments of its Government, and it is perhaps more than we can expect from human nature to demand enthusiastic support from the official classes in effecting this corollary reform. Without it, nevertheless, all remedies for Indian distress, all checks upon the decay of our Empire in the peninsula—even that most potent one, the re-opening of the mints to silver—will end by being of no avail. Palliatives they may be, not cures; but even as palliatives they are hard for the official to think of. The easiest way to stave the day of reckoning off is to borrow, and that is the way the Simla Government will follow to the end.—*Investors' Review.*

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ITS AIMS AND JUSTIFICATION.

[Being a reprint of certain articles on the subject in the *Statesman and Friend of India.*]

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